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of "You are wrong, Father Huddleston", has had to be held over until next week.

ON BACK PAGE

He concluded his address to the Sunday morning session by urging that members should "use every personal and organisational means in their power to oppose the Anglo-French effort to dispose of the Suez Canal issue in any other way than by patient negotiation."

☐ ON PAGE FIVE

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MONTGOMERY LOOKS AHEAD

LORD MONTGOMERY, associated with the Supreme Command of the NATO forces, is in the best position to see what from a military standpoint are the requirements of NATO.

His contentions are the logical conclusions of military assumptions. On the other hand it is clear that the Suez situation has made him think again about his recent statement that was quoted in the Labour Peace Fellowship statement to the Labour Party Conference.

"If anyone in the world starts aggression we shall give them the works from the word go, with atom and hydrogen bombs, and the biggest things we've got... I wouldn't mind the consequences."

The Egyptian Government has "started aggression" according to the British Government, and there is no reason to think that the political outlook of Lord Montgomery would cause him to disagree with it.

Nevertheless the kind of consequences that he is proposing to describe in his speech would so obviously be out of proportion with the Suez affair that he has thought it as well to be a trifle more cautious, so that this formulation has now become "The West should make clear that any ARMED aggression against free peoples would be met with instant and adequate retaliation."

LIKE his great German precursor, von Clausewitz, Lord Montgomery regards attempts to separate political measures from the demands of war preparation as unreal.

We agree with Lord Montgomery and von Clausewitz on this point and we are convinced that the reason why there has been so great a convergence on the essentials of all aspects of Labour and Conservative policy over the past 30 years is that there has been a common agreement on the more important requirements in regard to war preparation.

Both parties, however, are lagging in facing the logic of the present situation, and we do well to join Lord Montgomery in the contemplation of the direction in which this points.

He has no doubt on the subject: he has said before, and he now repeats, that the nations of the West should be organised for the direction of both military strategy and political policy under a supreme authority.

This is not to be a world authority. It has nothing to do with the United Nations. It is a part-world authority, organised, as Lord Montgomery's departing colleague, General Gruenther, has put it, to put the 450,000,000 people of NATO in a position to face the 800,000,000 under totalitarian dictatorship.

The peoples of Poland and Hungary, etc., who are just taking their first painful steps towards the shaking off of the highly centralised direction under which their affairs have been conducted, are to be faced by more highly centralised controls in the West in which political direction is to be linked with the needs of SHAPE.

THE great problems that trouble honest political theorists today of how measures of centralised world administration are to be reconciled with democracy are thus to be by-passed.

The matter is to be dealt with on the basis of military necessity in a world power struggle.

The developments towards supra-national centralisation in the West will of necessity be emulated—where not already anticipated—by the East. We shall have arrived at two world governments in conflict, each equipped with the improved and extended spy systems that Lord Montgomery is urging, and neither of which will be required to have regard to the place of the human person in society indicated by such terms as liberty and democracy, because the military requirements dictated by the conflict will dominate all.

Something of what will happen when these two great centralised combinations get to grips in war Lord Montgomery has described in his lecture, although as a strategist he is of course only concerned with the "millions of refugees" he contemplates in so far as they slow down movement and hamper military plans; and with the effects of the appalling distribution over the world of radio-active fall-out in the extent to which it has—he delicately puts it—"rendered the human mind less efficient." The merely human aspects are part of the results he "wouldn't mind."

If, however, instead of entering upon the war of final destruction these two highly centralised directing groups came to the conclusion that they could co-exist (as was suggested by Sir Winston Churchill at Aachen in May of this year) they would do so on the basis of this militarised concentration of power and the ordinary peoples of the world would be at the mercy of whatever policies they might decide to dictate.

Report from the Copperbelt

HEAT, dust and uncertainty. That is the picture as I write from Northern Rhodesia.

The heat, at this time of year, is inevitable. So is the dust. So, lamentably, is the uncertainty.

What lies behind the Copperbelt trouble?

A State of Emergency was declared over what was purely an industrial dispute.

First, there was the contentious issue of the recently "advanced" mineworkers ("boss boys" and other skilled workers) being directed from the Mineworkers Union to the Salaried Staff Association. Union leaders were angered by the thought of their organisation being weakened in numbers.

Secondly, and it was this that actually brought the Emergency into force, African miners protested at having to wear leggings underground and also at being compelled to make use of identity discs.

EMERGENCY DECLARED

It is interesting to note that no official strike was declared by the Union.

And interesting too is the fact that, at most mines, workers were willing to work—but only on condition that leggings would not be worn and identity discs discarded.

It was at this point that the mine managements jumped in.

We forbid you to work underground, they told the workers, unless you comply with our orders.

So it was that over a period of nearly two weeks the majority of African miners did not attend to their jobs underground.

And it was at the beginning of this period that the State of Emergency was declared and 42-odd leaders of the Union and the African Congress

BASIL DELAINE'S CENTRAL AFRICAN COMMENTARY

lost their freedom to the Emergency Regulations and were detained behind barbed wire, where they still languish more than three weeks after their arrests.

There is no doubt as to the effect of the call-out of the Police and the Army.

It inevitably created tension—tension which, having hit the African rank-and-file, boomeranged back to the Europeans.

Not that there was ever any panic. Europeans spoke about it as though it were a change in the weather. But the tension, for two weeks or so, was very marked.

At the time of writing, three weeks after its declaration, the State of Emergency on the Copperbelt is still effective.

The number of detainees has jumped to 50-odd—and there is no sign of their release.

African meetings, during the Emergency, are banned and it was when people got together to discuss the situation that, on numerous occasions, the police hurled their tear bombs and wielded their shillelagh-like batons.

The situation is quiet as I write. But how long will it remain so? How long can the White settlers in this country hold down the upsurge of African enlightenment?

The miners are back at work. Many of them will now be regretting their allegiance to their leader and prime instigator of the "leggings and discs" issue, one Mr. Matthew de Luxe Nkolomo.

MANY people (like the British Archbishops) have held that it is impossible to achieve a peaceful world through the idea of human brotherhood (which means that brothers may not legitimately kill each other for the advancement or defence of their own interests), but that there was hope of peace to be found in the fear of the great "deterrent".

They must feel considerably shaken after the events of the last two months—particularly in view of the proceedings of the Conservative Party Conference at Llandudno.

The single voice raised there against what the Economist calls the Government's "gunboat" policy was heard only with impatience and represented the only vote that was cast against a resolution that had been amended to meet the views of Captain Waterhouse and his associates.

It is true that in accepting that amendment, the platform made it evident that it might not be interpreted precisely as its sponsors would desire; nevertheless, the whole Conference, with the exception of Mr. William Yates, MP, voted for it as providing the nearest they could get to a "gunboat" declaration.

The Economist, from whom we have borrowed the label "gunboat Tories", clearly takes the view that however stridently the Government may have declaimed about its intentions following the action of the Egyptian Government, there was never any possibility that it would act with the irresponsibility that its words indicated.

Our destruction

"YOU cannot," says the Economist, "create the image the Conservatives need by dreaming dreams of conserving imperial greatness. You cannot create it in foreign policy by saying with the prophet Ezekiel: 'I am against thee, Pharaoh, king of Egypt, the great dragon that lieth in the midst of his rivers,' and sending a gunboat—because everybody knows that you jolly well cannot."

The trouble is that when you begin to say you can and your Waterhouses, Amerys, Currans, Connells and the rest begin to clamour that you should, and the kind of crowd irresponsibility is aroused that was manifested at Llandudno, there develops a growing temptation to take a chance.

You can, in fact, send the gunboat; what you cannot do is to ensure that it will not set off the chain reaction, political and atomic, that will destroy mankind.

If we are to achieve peace through deterrents, we shall know that we have attained to that end only when

we have become so deterred that we shall no longer prepare for the war that we know may be our destruction.

A cynical assessment

INCIDENTALLY, the cynicism of the Economist's appraisal of the present political situation is worthy of consideration.

It holds that there are three possible courses for the Conservatives.

They can take the line of the "gunboat Tories" and adopt a policy that is both different from that of Labour and also appears to be so. That will ensure a Conservative defeat.

They can pursue a policy that is really different from Labour policy

Conservatives Non-violence and war China

but is made to look as much like it as possible. That also will bring defeat.

Or, thirdly, they can follow a policy that is really the same as that of Labour but which is made to look as different as possible. That way offers a chance of success.

We do not necessarily accept the Economist's appraisal of chances if we say that this description does represent the basic fact of the political situation today.

There will only be reality again in political disputes if the real problem that confronts the modern world is brought in: are we or are we not to persist in the policies that were followed in the pre-atomic era now that we have entered the atomic age?

Alternative to war

THERE can, of course, be two views about whether it is desirable that Wales should seek a separate form of self-government. For those Welsh who take the view that such self-government is desirable, however, it is surely not surprising that they dissent from the idea that their land should be taken and their farms and villages destroyed, without consultation, in order to meet English needs.

It is clear that Frank Dawtry, whose letter appears on page 7, finds the idea of separate self-government for Wales unattractive, but he surely takes his opposition a little far when he equates with war non-violent activity directed against

something that is felt to be an imposition.

"To go to war with Liverpool, even by non-violent means, is still to go to war, and seems to me to have no place in pacifist philosophy."

It would seem that in his view, the followers of Gandhi, those who participated in the South African campaign of non-violent resistance to apartheid laws, and possibly even the Negroes of Montgomery, Alabama, could not be regarded as suitable signatories to the PPU pledge.

We are convinced that this is not what Frank Dawtry intended, but that he has permitted the violence of his reaction to carry him too far.

It seems to us clear that people ought not to acquiesce to injustice and oppression. At the same time, violence is not a satisfactory solution. There are also times when negotiation is not enough.

It seems to us that it is essential for persons and groups who reject war and violence and who hope to bring the world also to reject war and violence, to offer an alternative method of meeting conflict and combatting injustice.

The need for "a moral equivalent of war" as a means of resisting injustice and tyranny has long been felt. It remained for Gandhi to develop this alternative method.

When people plan and use non-violent methods of resisting what they consider to be an injustice, we consider that it is important news.

Western pacifists would do well to give these methods serious consideration.

China's seat

MR. DULLES has again wounded British susceptibilities by a reference to British colonialism in connection with the Suez dispute, and he has been reminded that American action in regard to Formosa is regarded by Asians as one kind of colonialism.

Beyond doubt America is attempting to intervene in the domestic affairs of China though they would never tolerate a Chinese fleet continually operating off the coast of California.

It is high time that America revised its policy, evacuated the Formosa area and ceased to put any obstacles in the way of ensuring that the *de facto* Government of China is represented at UN instead of pretending that China's seat as a permanent member of the Security Council can be properly filled by representatives sent by Chang Kai-shek.

The difference which would be made to the present discussions on Suez if China had been properly represented at the Security Council is obvious.

From the Editor's Notebook

A good campaigner

TED RASEY, seventeen-year-old delegate who was loudly cheered for his intervention in the debate on foreign policy at the Labour Party Conference, is one of a team who have been campaigning in the Salisbury area to "convert the Labour Party to pacifism."

A large crowd gathered in Salisbury Market Place last month to hear this group of under-twenties protest against the threat of war over Suez.

"I would rather spend Christmas in prison than in a barracks," Ted, who is about to be called-up, told the crowd. "I refuse to have anything to do with the wholesale licensed butchery of modern warfare."

Mary Harrison, who walked from Salisbury to London to deliver an H-bomb protest at 10 Downing Street last year, was in the audience. She tells me the group's enthusiasm is unbounded and that they plan to visit the surrounding villages this autumn. But she heard some strange comments from the crowd. One was:

"I was brought up Labour, but this stuff's no good, every man for himself is what I say."

It is tough working for pacifism in the garrison towns and cities of Britain, but we've some good campaigners in these vital areas.

Keeping basic freedoms alive

NOT many people address the much feared House Un-American Activities in that tone of voice these days.

This was the verdict of the famous American columnist, Drew Pearson, when in his syndicated feature he

recently referred to the Quakers of Philadelphia who told the Committee "in dignified but emphatic language" to quit nosing into the right of the Quakers to hire any librarian they pleased, even if that librarian had once been a member of the Communist Party."

A quote from the "emphatic language":

"We regard such inquiries as a serious transgression upon the complete division of church and state foundations of democracy."

"Is the conscience of the Church to be subject to the organised pressure of groups of people who differ from it?"

Thanks to Drew Pearson the stand by the nine Quaker Elders of Plymouth Meeting, near Philadelphia, has become widely known throughout the USA and the hysteria which once threatened world peace come nearer to being silenced.

Puppet exhibition

THOSE readers who cherish the close association of the peace movement with the arts will be interested to know that this year's Annual Puppet and Model Theatre Exhibition is to be held in Shoreditch Town Hall, Old Street, London, from October 29 to November 10, open from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. daily except Sundays.

The Town Hall is near the birth place of Benjamin Pollock, and the famous Theatrical Print and Juvenile Drama publishers, whose centenary is being celebrated this

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'Force quite unrealistic'

—Prof. Lonsdale

"It is quite unrealistic to suppose that the world can continue with the use of force. I am convinced that pacifism will come; it must come," asserted Professor Kathleen Lonsdale recently.

"The 1941 Atlantic Charter, out of which grew the United Nations, declared that for practical as well as spiritual reasons, nations must come to abandon force—and that was four years before the atom bomb."

Kathleen Lonsdale was addressing 50 students on "Is Pacifism Practical?" at a tea at University College, London, given by the College Pacifist Society.

"Now we have H-bombs," she continued. "Their existence may cause nations not to rush into war, but knowledge of the production of nuclear weapons is spreading amongst the nations, and H-bombs will not keep the peace when everyone is capable of making them. We don't offer H-bombs to Israel and the Arab States to ensure that they don't go to war!"

Serious thought

"Under the present system of power politics, the best we can hope for is some sort of international control system and inspectors, but this would not last long in time of war. NATO is certainly planning the use of atomic weapons."

"It is quite impracticable not to get rid of our arms, otherwise they will get rid of us."

"Our children will have more Strontium 90 in their bones than they can tolerate if we do not stop H-tests alone."

"Disarmament by one nation," the well-known Quaker scientist continued, "possibly might not prevent war, but armed nations will also have to face the problem of future aggression."

"Hitler, or any other mad dog, would have had no power if men had not been prepared to fight for him. If, in the world of the future, we continue to breed mad dogs—and that is what we are doing—it will not be possible to stop them."

"The positive side of pacifism is therefore seeking justice. An impartial international court of justice will become possible when nations renounce power politics."

"Unless we start seriously thinking about the nature of the warless world we want, I do not see much hope for the future. But as soon as we realise that this world must come, we'll find a way—with justice."

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VICTORY IS POSSIBLE

By Arlo Tatum

General Secretary, War Resisters' International, recently returned from a visit to Germany. NEWS from Germany over recent weeks has included the depressing and rather frightening information that former SS men are now being welcomed into the new German Army, and veterans of Hitler's defeated (?) army can once again legally and presumably with pride, wear their iron crosses and other Nazi decorations (minus the swastika).

On the other hand blameless young soldiers have been attacked by resentful frustrated civilians, the official army propaganda film "The First Steps" has boomeranged, and the Bonn Government has begun talking about a 12 months' period of duty under conscription instead of 18 months in an effort to pacify the strong opposition to any conscription or rearmament.

Feeding on mistakes

Peace and pacifist movements are co-operating, and thriving on the excesses of the Bonn Government.

Despite the many difficulties our German co-workers are facing they are, in my opinion, working under circumstances more favourable than anywhere else in the world!

All the second-hand stories I've heard about the exciting 1930s in the USA and England have come to life for me.

If I am correct, the movements of the 1930s proved to be "more foam than beer" when the excitement died away, and this may be the case with the German movement.

In Schweinfurt, for example, I spoke to the second public meeting of the newly formed WRI group. At the beginning of the meeting, attended by about 400 persons, there were 50 WRI members. At the end of the four hour session there were 100 members.

I haven't any adverse information about the fifty new members, and maybe each became convinced that the method of war had to be abolished and each will "refuse to support or sanction another."

On the other hand perhaps they hold the thoughtful, intelligent and commendable conviction that rearmament of West Germany will more firmly entrench the division of Germany.

Hope and the SPD

One cannot, in any case, question the sincerity of the vast majority of those active in the peace movement. In twelve days I visited eleven cities, speaking with over 1,400 persons.

Meetings which were public had far more non-members present than members—a rare event for sponsoring organisations in other countries. Members or not, the emphatic rejection of a militarised Western Germany was clear and resolute.

It is within the realm of possibility that the "SPD"—the opposition socialist party—will replace the Adenauer Government in the general elections next year. It is possible, even probable, that the SPD will keep its promise to scrap the conscription law if the peace movement does not relax its pressure.

IRISH PACIFISTS HEAR ARLO TATUM

From P. Haley-Dunn

THE Irish Pacifist Movement was host to Arlo Tatum, General Secretary of the War Resisters' International when he addressed a meeting in Dublin, October 5. Speaking on "The Pacifist Struggle—A World View" he said he often wondered why governments didn't demand to know whether a man was militant before calling him up.

Some 12 countries have conscription and some form of legal recognition for conscientious objectors, though this varies from country to country.

In Belgium war resisters were recognised, but they had to spend eighteen months in prison, though the period for military service was two years; they were then set free.

Communist countries, Spain and Greece had no form of recognition for the CO. In Spain the treatment ranged from being shot to being ignored. One had to be suspicious of the person who claimed to know "exactly what happens to Russian war resisters."

A small army is no army

Pacifist groups in countries where legal recognition had been granted, or where there was no military call-up, were inclined to be somewhat lethargic. The pacifist movement in Ireland was a case in point.

It ought to turn its attention to the Irish Army! A small army is no army; neither good politics nor good military science, he said. This was something all could agree upon and work on.

There were many positive things which could be done in Ireland.

He was at the moment resident in England and he found it exciting to live in a country where a pacifist could have a question raised in Parliament. This could never happen in the US.

There the main question was race relations. Their Southern branch was being very active, but nevertheless there were reports that Negroes and whites were taking up arms. He did not think that there would be any serious violence until at least after the elections.

American pacifists who this year and last year had refused to take part in civil defence exercises had stated that the best form of civil defence was abolition of war. They had been arrested for their pains.

The War Resister, the WRI quarterly magazine printed in French, German and English, reached 88 countries and was for many people their only contact with pacifism. The lecture was followed by a discussion.

If the Adenauer party is clever, which it seldom is, it will not begin its forced recruitment before elections even if the machinery is ready beforehand.

I almost hope they are not clever in this case, for it is exciting and encouraging to see a people who, like the British, are excessively law-abiding, making preparations to defy a law which does not and should not command their respect.

I did not get the impression that war resisters in Germany would accept and co-operate with whatever programme of civilian alternative service is devised, as is generally true in other countries.

The application of the non-violent technique of civil disobedience could mark the beginning of a new and vigorous era for Western pacifism.

Finally, I venture the opinion that the financial situation of the German pacifist movement has improved greatly although, like everywhere, it takes continuous hard work to obtain the necessary money to carry on their campaign. And as elsewhere, if the financial resources were greater the movement would undertake far greater and more frequent projects.

Nonetheless, for the supporters of a peaceful unarmed Western Germany victory is still possible.

'This is the time for converts'

—Dr. SOPER

DR. DONALD SOPER laid down three maxims for pacifists when he spoke to an audience of 200 at the Labour Peace Fellowship's meeting at the Labour Party Conference. They were:

1. Practical peacemaking based upon a knowledge of the reasons for violence.

2. The renunciation of war is necessary if Socialism is to be achieved. It is vital that the progressive movements should be influenced by those who believed that the powers of violence can be overcome by the spirit of community.

3. There is no such thing as a just war, whether sanctioned by the United Nations or not.

Dr. Soper accused the Tory government of "incompetence vying with sheer immorality" in its handling of home, foreign and colonial affairs.

He called on all pacifists to declare themselves publicly; today non-pacifists are having all their arguments destroyed by force of events; now is the time to make converts. A great deal could be learned from what is happening in the East, in India and in China.

Victor Yates, MP, had opened the meeting, which had suffered from keen competition with an "official" meeting with Nye Bevan speaking, and with a meeting on automation,

by recalling the efforts of the LPF over the past year to make the Labour Party abandon conscription and to fight the Tories on issues like Suez.

Ted Redhead, MP, said "peace" was becoming a respectable word. Even the Tories would not openly admit that their sabre-rattling was war-like.

He said that after the last war Western propaganda had alleged that the A- and H-bombs were a deterrent to Russia; now Russia has these weapons, too, the deterrent is supposed to be even greater! We cannot achieve peace by making and testing atomic weapons.

Miss Eileen Fletcher was the other speaker on this notable platform. She affirmed her faith in the rejection of the method of war, saying that it was her experience that a "leap in the dark" often works.

She gave a brief, but effective description of what Britain is doing in Kenya. The Kikuyu tribe is being wiped out; 11,000 people have been hanged, 12,000 will be banished for ever from their tribes, even after the emergency ends.

She asked all present to write to their MPs, to the Colonial Secretary and to the Press, demanding an immediate judicial enquiry into the course of "justice" in Kenya. She concluded by expressing her support for the Labour Party's colonial policy.

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It costs only 2s. for anyone over the age of 16 to join the Society, at any branch.

From mud huts to castles

I HAVE just returned to the United States after two years in village India and something has gone wrong with my eyesight. I see everything double.

I go down a wide American street and look at the spacious green lawns, walks, well painted walls and TV antennae but I don't just see one street, nor just one set of houses. I see two.

In addition to the paved street with American children playing on the walk, I see a dusty Indian village street crowded between mud walls. I see naked children playing in the dust and puddles of sewage.

When I walk into an American home I see tables, chairs, a rug on the floor, fluorescent lights, radios, TV, central heating, air conditioning, curtains and glass windows.

But at the same time I see another scene. I am almost on hands and knees crawling into the hut of an outcast in an Indian village. It is dark and musty.

There are no windows in the little room but almost a dozen people sleep on mats on the damp earthen floor. Someone strikes a match and there is a ragged gray cloth hung like a hammock with a little child lying quietly in it.

Americans proudly show me their kitchens. I see refrigerators, fancy stoves, sinks, electric mixers and stacks of metal pots and pans in cupboards. But my double vision is still bothering me. I see the wife of a village weaver cooking on a little outdoor "stove" of baked mud. She has a few cheap earthenware pots and a little food—very little.

She can't cook indoors because a loom takes up all the room in their little thatched chicken-coop of a hut. The whole family sleeps on the floor under the loom, under cloth which belongs to a merchant and will be sold for more than the weaver could ever afford to pay.

They never guess . . .

When I am supposed to admire a fat little American baby, I see a skinny limbed Eastern child with its ribs showing and flies swarming around a sore on its head.

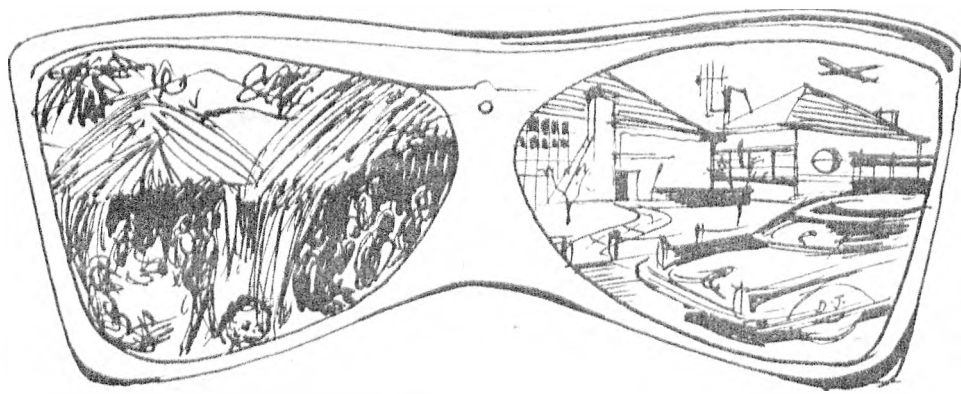
I see the underfed little child walk into the street with the slow pace of the sick or starving. When he relieves himself there in the street amid the flies, it is obvious that the child has dysentery.

This village has no doctor and the parents could hardly afford his services if a doctor were available.

I'm getting into difficulties. People show me their shiny new gadgets and stand expectantly waiting for praise.

They never guess that I have double vision, that pictures and thoughts are flashing through my mind and I'm concentrating, trying to bring the two pictures together and make sense of them.

The proud owner of a garbage grinding gadget which fits under the kitchen sink thought I was condemning him or his fine gadget or something when his gadget reminded me of some garbage disposal methods I had seen in India.



Ralph Blackwood tells the story of his

DOUBLE VISION

First, I described, perhaps in a little too much detail, a homeless orphan I had seen pawing into the garbage behind a restaurant.

My gadget owning friend got on the defensive and started trying to prove that he really needed his garbage disposer. But, I still have a touch of the malaria I picked up in India so I'm lazy, too.

He didn't have to argue so hard. I hadn't meant anything, anyhow. I was just doing what most people do talking about things in front of my eyes. But, most people aren't bothered with seeing double—unless they're drunk.

To get him off the defensive, I told the owner of the garbage disposer about another way people dispose of garbage in India.

I told him of a meal I ate in Trichur. Everything was very simple. My host went out to the edge of the porch, it was raining hard, and cut off a banana leaf. He laid it on the floor, put the food on it. Then I sat crosslegged on a mat and ate with my hand.

When I finished, I washed my hands off and my host threw the banana leaf into the yard. Shortly afterwards a cow came along and ate the leaf.

I couldn't understand

I think my American friend was a little paranoid. He seemed to think I was trying to attack him, the American way of life or something.

He started shouting things. I thought that I'd been away too long because I couldn't understand him. I caught a lot of words like "progress," "bigger and better," "ignorant savages," "Civilization" and "common sense" but I never did figure out what he was saying.

When I first came back from India I talked too much about the things I saw with my double vision. My friends got sick of hearing about India and the Arab countries. One day they said, "You seem to forget that we have our poor here in America, too."

"Where?" I asked, amazed.

"In the slums," they said.

"What slums?" I asked. "Where are there any slums?"

"Every city has slums," they said.

I wouldn't believe them, so finally, to settle the matter, they dragged me onto a plastic covered seat of a new chrome-plated gadget-wagon and we started gliding across the city. Finally we came to a very ugly district which stank.

We sat silently on our magic carpet of chrome and steel while it floated smoothly up one street and down the next. I saw the broken old buildings with battered garbage cans out in front.

They shouted at me

There were cars parked along the curb. Some were as old and ugly and dirty as the buildings and some were brand new. The glare of radios came through open windows and on the roofs there was a naked forest of television antennae.

But while we cruised through the American city I also saw a city in India.

An Indian friend took me through the city. He showed me mud huts, so small I could not stand up in them, where large families lived. He showed me people so poor they could not buy new poles and leaves to repair their roof after a storm.

We walked along several miles of narrow muddy streets where there were no sewers, no garbage disposal service and no latrines. The people had only a few old rags to cover their bodies. It was incredibly worse than these American slums we were cruising through.

However, after a while my Indian friend had asked, "Now, would you like to see the slums?"

"The slums?" I said. "I thought these were the slums?"

"Come on," the Indian said, "I'll show you the slums."

While I was silently recalling our tour through the slums of the Indian city my American friends asked, "Now, don't we have poor people in America?"

"These people wouldn't be called poor in India," I said.

The driver pointed to a run-down apartment house. "Wouldn't they call that poverty?" he asked.

"They would probably call it a badly used castle," I said.

Our discussion finally led up to a rather unpleasant argument in which my friends shouted that America did, too, have lots of poverty and I shouted back that the American poor were as rich as kings by Indian standards and finally my friends shouted back that I was un-American and a Communist.

I saw a coolie

After I'd been back a while I learned to keep quiet about the part of my double vision which rouses people. I go around like an iceberg, with only one-tenth of myself exposed to sight.

The trouble is, it makes me slow to react. Like the other day. An old friend came into the house.

"Come outside!" he shouted in excitement. "I've got something to show you." He was beaming all over. I guess I sort of beamed back because I like to see him happy. He usually looks sort of tense and desperate. He rushed me out the front door and said, "Look! How do you like it?"

I couldn't see anything but the line of cars parked along the street. He pointed to one of the cars and said, "See! That new one! It's mine. Just got it. How do you like it?"

It looked new all right with all that chrome and glass and bright paint flashing in the sun.

But I suddenly saw something else. It was sort of melted into my friend's bright new car like two 3-D films superimposed on top of each other.

I saw a ragged coolie carrying a huge bale of cotton on his back. He walked along bent down under the heavy load and as he struggled along in the hot tropical air, the perspiration poured down all over his body.

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A child's life of Gandhi

The two Great Wars

Last week we read how Gandhi fought for the freedom of India by means of "civil disobedience." Indians were to refuse to obey unjust laws, but they were never to strike back, no matter what they were made to suffer.

IN the weary years that rolled by between the First Great War and the Second, thousands of changes came in the world outside India.

Violence became a part of daily life in country after country. Everywhere men had been fighting for so long that it had almost got to be a habit with them.

During the First Great War, whenever the different governments of the world found their soldiers were tired of fighting, they promised them a wonderful life if they would fight on till victory was won.

When peace came at last, the poor soldiers only found that the world was a much worse place than before. There was less food, less

AS TOLD BY GERTRUDE MURRAY TO THE CHILDREN OF INDIA

of everything, and for millions of men there was no work at all.

When they found that none of the good things promised them were going to come to them, they started fighting against their own governments.

Kings and rulers were overthrown by their rebellious subjects in many lands, while in almost every country many political parties struggled with each other for power.

Then strong men began to rise up in one country after another. These men seized power and became like kings. They were called Dictators and they ruled with tyranny and brutality, killing all who opposed them.

The two most terrible of these Dictators Hitler and Mussolini, the one an Austrian and the other an Italian, made life miserable for millions of people. They ruled by violence

WHEN people fear violence they generally become violent in order to protect themselves. This was how it was in Europe, and in other continents too. No man's life was safe under the Dictators, who talked only of war.

They called it a glorious thing and encouraged their people to fight for the sake of fighting. They ordered their armies to invade all small and weak countries. The populations of these small countries were then treated by them as slaves.

In the end the Second Great War broke out. It was the most terrible war that the world has ever seen. Men seemed to have forgotten all the teachings of religion. Hatred and cruelty reigned everywhere.

Only one political leader spoke out for peace and brotherhood among the nations. That was Gandhi.

He had now become so great and powerful in India that millions of men and women worshipped him like a saint and were ready to give their lives for him. Unlike the Dictators he wanted nothing for himself and ruled by love alone. His only throne was in the hearts of his followers.

He still worked tirelessly for India's freedom. He continually told the British that if they would only set India free, Indians would gladly help Britain in all her troubles caused by the war.

But the British government would not listen. In a world so full of hatred and deceit they found it hard to believe that there was one man who was absolutely truthful and sincere.

AGAIN Gandhi tried Satyagraha. By organising a movement of peaceful disobedience to the Government's orders all over India, he tried to convince the British that India must be free without any more delay. But it was useless.

The long years of hard toil had made Gandhi an old man though he was very healthy and still worked harder than any youth.

ON PAGE FIVE

BOOKS

VISITING COMMUNISTS

Beryl Davies reviews

Quakers Visit China. 74 pp, London, Society of Friends, 3s.

Meeting the Russians, American Friends Visit the Soviet Union. 94 pp, Philadelphia, American Friends Service Committee, 3s. 6d.

THESE two reports tell how members of the Society of Friends penetrated, in one case the Iron Curtain of Russia, and in the other the bamboo one of China, to take to those beyond messages of goodwill as members of the same human family.

They differ considerably in style. The American one is breezily written, so that the reader is left full of hope and with a belief that the resilience of human nature will confound all prophets of doom.

The English report is sober and restrained; its pronouncements are weighted with solemn warnings that the Chinese revolution was an important episode in the most vital struggle of our times, the revolt of the under-privileged, which we ignore at our peril.

The American group went to Russia as ordinary tourists and sometimes felt themselves frustrated on account of their lack of status, while the English one went at the invitation of the China Peace Committee and found doors opened before they knocked.

One of their most rewarding interviews was with Chou En-Lai, and the full text of their talk was given.

In each case the visit was for one month, and the limitations that such a brief stay imposed are freely acknowledged.

Both missions were composed of men and women whose knowledge of world affairs made them competent to assess a situation, and whose integrity is indisputable.

These qualities give great value to the reports as new items; they are worth reading as records of things seen and heard in these vast and intriguing lands of China and Russia.

I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union.

Send YOUR pledge to

P.P.U. HEADQUARTERS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1

AFRICA

John Fletcher reviews

Pan-Africanism or Communism? The Coming Struggle for Africa, by George Padmore, London, Dennis Dobson, 25s.

GEORGE PADMORE'S latest book is a good antidote to the poison of Alexander Steward's false values discussed on the front page this week.

It is a well written history of the Pan-African movement during the last 30 years with its centre in London.

It shows the growth of the hopes of many hundreds of young Africans and West Indians studying and working in Europe.

How they worked out plans and constitutions for their special social and political groups, leading on to the large vision of Pan-Africa.

Recent gains for the movement are national independence for the Gold Coast and the Nigerias, and the return of Seretse Khama and Tshekedi Khama to political activity in Bechuanaland.

A film depicting the work of the International Voluntary Service for Peace is obtainable from IVSP Centre, 19 Pembridge Villas, London, W.11.

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ISRAEL AND JORDAN

Jordan, where the first free general elections are due to take place next Sunday. But the Anglo-Israeli intrigues have failed due to lack of foresight. Israel forgot that anti-Nasserism for Britain meant pro-Iraqism. And Britain forgot that for the Jordanians, anti-Nasserism hardly meant pro-Iraqism.

The result has been that on the one hand Anglo-Israeli relations have been strained and on the other that the British policy of getting the Iraqi troops inside Jordan has not succeeded.

From what has been happening at the Israeli-Jordan frontier, one conclusion is inescapable: neither the Jordanians nor the Israelis want a full scale war, and neither the Arab states nor the Jewish state is in a mood to negotiate peace.

There seems to be a brutal and a most inhuman silent agreement between the two sides: you blow up a dozen of our people every week, we shall blow up two dozen of yours every two weeks. The brink of war is always there in actions, just as the brink is always omnipresent in conversations.

And when some day, at some place on the frontier some one gets a little frightened, a little nervous, or a little trigger happy, the Middle Eastern situation may explode. Such a war would come even though neither side wants it.

"Ben Gurion is old. He is frightened and nervous. He might any day launch a war against us." This is how the Jordanian Chief of Staff, General Ali Abou Nuwar described Israel's Prime Minister to me.

To those who may consider these remarks uncharitable and repulsive, one may only point out that it is Ben Gurion who in Israeli politics is the arch champion of the concept of massive retaliation.

Sharrett forced out

The Arab leaders distrust him. Said Afllak, the Secretary General of Syria's Bath Socialist Party, "Though there is not much choice between the two, yet Sharrett is much preferable to Ben Gurion. Sharrett is an Asian and he understands the Arab mind much better than Ben Gurion does."

Liberals all the world over have regretted Sharrett's resignation from Israel's Foreign Ministry.

He was forced to resign by Ben Gurion. Though "personal incompatibility" was described to me as the reason for Sharrett's resignation, by one of his closest friends, it is a known fact that this incompatibility extended to the question of massive retaliation.

With Sharrett out of the government, Israel has accepted the concept of massive retaliation as the guiding principle of her policy towards the Arab states.

The recurrence of the border troubles has its own reasons. Raids by the infiltrators from the Arab side have increased because the Suez dispute has inflamed Arab public opinion, and the Arab refugees from Palestine who believe Israel to be a creation of the West consider the raids as a manifestation of their new nationalist spirit.

On the Israeli side, the Zionists feel a little more comfortable now that the West has decided to supply arms and jet planes to Israel through the agency of the Canadian Government.

British intrigues

And since it was well known that these arms and planes have come to Israel because of the West's embroilment with the Arabs over the Suez dispute, the dichards wanted to present the raids as a "thank you" note to the imperialist Powers.

Recent events have made it clear that through the raids Britain saw an opportunity to regain its lost ground inside Jordan. Britain has failed and Israel has gained without profit. No wonder Israel feels disgusted.

A visitor to Israel is always deeply impressed by the somewhat socialist and the democratic settlement that Jewish labour and Western capital have built.

The impression is most profound on those who are seeking an alternative to Communism and Parliamentary Socialism, both of which in varying degrees have failed.

In these settlements, the visitor detects a new socio-economic system as well as a process through which Western capital may go to the underdeveloped areas on non-imperialist terms.

But Israel's foreign policies, I must most

regrettably say, are more reactionary than the domestic policies of some of the most despotic Arab countries.

What was needed as a corrective was an effective political opposition to the Ben Gurion Government. But by joining the government, Achdut Havodah and Mapai have wiped out serious political opposition.

From the Centre to the Left, every political leader now toes the Ben Gurion line. Every political leader that I met tried to convince me that Israel needed peace.

But such assertions are not borne out by concrete actions. A policy of peace cannot go hand in hand with a philosophy of massive retaliation.

With a woman's charm and an American teacher's eloquence, the Foreign Minister, Mrs. Golda Meir, tried to impress upon me the sincere desire of the Israeli government to have peace on her borders.

Socialist betrayal

But when I pleaded to her to re-examine the concept of massive retaliation, she rather angrily replied: "We can not let these border raids pass by. We have to convince our people that the government is not sitting idly by."

I could understand Mrs. Meir's concern but what I could not understand was how the Jewish people, the people who have suffered most in recent history, could accept the doctrine of massive retaliation, so alien to their way of life.

And when Kesse, until recently the Secretary General of Mapai, and one of the most lovable persons I have met in Israel, after casually mentioning to me that Israel could drive the Jordanians to the Western Bank of the River Jordan within 36 hours, said in a most persuasive tone that Israel did not have any aggressive intentions and no pro-Western policies, I was not impressed.

What is most deplorable and regrettable is the silence of the political Left in Israel.

They have betrayed the international socialist ethics that enjoins upon men to respect human life by giving half-silent consent to Ben Gurion's actions. Their silence cannot be condoned.

Much was expected from Achdut Havodah. Its leaders, Israel Galilee, Yigal Aalon and Elizier Halevy are big men with bigger ideals. And quite contrary to their programme, which calls for a rapprochement between the leftists of Israel and the Arab countries, they have advocated that all the military posts on the Jordanian frontier should be captured or destroyed by the Israeli forces.

In risking a war with the Arabs they, therefore, seem to be more adventurous than the rather conservative Mapai.

Arab attacks

What Mrs. Meir said in a few words, the leaders of the fellow-travelling Mapai said in long conversations. Yacob Chazan, Mapai's No. 2 man in the party hierarchy, was perhaps the ablest person I met on my recent trips to Israel.

His party is keenly aware of the discriminations practised against the Arabs inside Israel and recently he was instrumental in organising a joint Arab-Jewish Conference to seek ways to improve the lot of the Arabs.

But on the concept of massive retaliation he only repeated the point of view held by the leaders of Mapai. "If we do not retaliate," he argued, "then the leaders of the Right—Menheim Began and his Herut Party—will capture power and thus the cause of socialism would be lost."

It was strange logic indeed and it reminded me of what Francois Mauriac is reported to have said, "Today we know it is the socialist government that does the dirty work of a kind that would not be tolerated if a Right Wing government attempted it."

This criticism of Israel, and the bankruptcy of Israeli socialism does not mean that the actions of the Arab infiltrators who have been guilty of murdering innocent Israeli citizens are either to be overlooked or condoned.

But one does expect something better from Israel because in the first place Israel is a country of a suffering people and secondly it is a state which is partly socialist and is pledged to the democratic and humanitarian ideals.

Steps to peace

The intensity of Israeli retaliation has been completely out of proportion to the Arab provocation. There may not be any qualitative difference between the actions of the infiltrators and the Israeli forces but there certainly is a substantial quantitative difference.

And the UN Secretary General is more than right in considering these retaliatory raids as individual actions and as breaches of the Truce Agreements.

Israel and her leaders must cultivate restraint just as the Arab refugees must develop patience through their suffering. Israel should also realise that the presence of about a million refugees on its frontiers gives more than a million reasons to the Arabs to get angry at Israel.

Israel must take a lead in creating an atmosphere of mutual trust and peace, for only in such an atmosphere can negotiations for peace take place with possibilities for a solution.

Similarly, Ben Gurion should be prepared to receive a large number of Israeli Arab refugees back into Israel.

Lovers of democracy and justice can hardly deny the right of the refugees to get back home, and more so to Israel. If the Jews of the diaspora (dispersion) after centuries of absence from their homeland, can lay a claim to get back to Palestine, why not the Arab refugees who have been away less than a decade?

SORRY—NO PEACE!

Through all these negotiations peace has been our aim, but not peace at any price. In dealing with a dictatorship peace at any price means to increase step by step the dangers of universal war... we have refused to say that in no circumstances would we ever use force. No responsible Government could ever give such a pledge.

—Sir Anthony Eden, October 13, 1956.

It must be very seldom that a British Prime Minister, summing up at the end of his Party's annual conference, has rolled so many platitudes and out-worn clichés off his tongue, as Sir Anthony Eden achieved at Llandudno last Saturday.

That his flat and hackneyed words evoked an ovation from his audience can only be attributed to the emotional background of the conference's last day, and to the unfortunate fact that he was saying what they wanted to hear.

This seems to imply that they, as well as he, are living not in this era of nuclear-weapon warfare, but in a past age, an age of "drawn swords," "backs to the wall," "my country right or wrong," and "Britannia rules the waves"; an age when a few so-called "local wars" were part of British Imperialist policy.

When Sir Anthony says "Peace has been our aim," he does not explain what he means by peace. It would seem, in view of the events since Nasser nationalised the Suez Canal Company, that he cannot mean "no war."

His whole attitude, and his spoken words, before the decision to go to the United Nations, were indicative of his belief that the proper answer to Nasser was to fight him.

It is not usual for elaborate troop movements, the sailing of aircraft carriers manned with paratroops, and the call-up of reservists to be considered synonymous with an aim of peace. To the ordinary person, and certainly to the country threatened with these moves, the aim might well appear to be war.

Within this context the statement that "peace has been our aim" is meaningless.

But to have followed those empty words with that sickening piece of clap-trap, "but not peace at any price," is so utterly uninspired that it is surprising it raised even one cheer.

★

Most people nowadays would be prepared to pay a high price, very high indeed, for the chance to live unthreatened by the horror and disaster of another war.

Even if Sir Anthony is thinking in terms only of a "local" war, designed to get rid of Nasser; even if, by some miracle (and it would be in the nature of a miracle), such a war should spread no further than the Canal Zone, it would still be a war in which passions would be roused, and retaliation inevitable; in which people would kill and be killed; in which human beings would be maimed and burned and blinded.

It is a heavy price indeed for those who pay in that coin, especially if, in the end, there is no peace, but only the ground, well and truly prepared, for the third world war.

PEACE IS POSSIBLE

From Derek Walker

"WE must get rid of the fallacy that there is nothing which ordinary people can do to change the direction of world affairs," said Dr. Donald Soper in London last Sunday.

He was preaching on "The World Can Live in Peace—If Ordinary People Really Want it", the first in a series of five sermons on the subject of peace.

Dr. Soper pointed out that the old arguments that there were historic, moral or economic laws which made the recurrence of war inevitable had now been exploded. People were sceptical today only because they could not believe human nature would be able to meet the demands of peace. Since the problem of war and peace was essentially a problem of human nature, it was one that could best be solved by religion—the Christian religion.

IF PEOPLE REFUSED

It was not enough to wish for peace, Dr. Soper continued; we must be prepared to make sacrifices to achieve it. We must also acquire a sense of urgency, for we might have less time than we thought. At any moment the tension on the borders of Israel, or the ugly situation in Hong Kong, or some other trouble spot, might become the Sarajevo which would lead to catastrophe.

The task of preventing this lay in the hands of people like ourselves. "If, for a sufficiently high motive, ordinary people refused to fight, there would be no more war."

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THE FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION, 29 GREAT JAMES STREET, LONDON.

Copperbelt

★ FROM PAGE TWO

Incidentally, it was noticeable that this has been lifted following a couple of acid leader articles in a lively Northern Rhodesian newspaper.

As I see it in this whirlpool of racial conflict, the main steps that will ensure justice and avert possible bloodshed in the future are these:

Immediate legislation against racial discrimination. Encouragement for the creation of an African middle-class.

In other words, the realisation by Europeans that the black African is a human being—and a very likeable one at that.

⑤ The London and S.E. Area PPU Joint Weekend School will be held at the Friends House, Ship Street, Brighton, on November 3 and 4.

⑥ Saturday's discussion which begins at 2.30 will be led by Douglas Clark and Allen Skinner—the subject "Collective Pacifism." Sunday, 2.30 p.m. Stuart Morris will speak on "Christianity and Collective Pacifism." The Chairman is Sybil Morrison.

⑦ Cost for accommodation and conference fee is 10s. conference fee only 3s. Bookings should be sent to 31, Billings Road, N.1, or to Frances Morgan, 78a Nazareth Road, St. Leonards-on-Sea, Sussex.

⑧ Bookings should be made as soon as possible as numbers are limited. 18 OCT 56

PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service
3.30 p.m. Sunday Oct. 21, 1956
King's Welsh House Church, Binney St., W.1
(Near Bond St. Tube)
Discourse by: Rev. E. F. Carpenter M.A., Ph.D.
"Humility"

THE WORLD CAN LIVE IN PEACE

A series of five sermons examining the spiritual and practical issues of peace will be preached by

Dr. Donald Soper

at KINGSWAY HALL on
Sunday evenings at 6.30
October 14 to November 11

OCTOBER 21

The World Can Live in Peace—IF
One Great Power Takes the Lead

MERSEYSIDE PEACE NEWS BAZAAR

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HELPING PEACE NEWS

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